

RELEASE IN PART
EXEMPTION: HR70-14
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IN

PAGE 1 OF 9 PAGES

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DIST 26 FEBRUARY 1982

REPORT CLASS

COUNTRY

POLAND

SUBJECT

COMMENTS ON A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH OF THE POLISH
MILITARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION
{DOI: FEBRUARY 1982}

SOURCE

A FORMER POLISH GENERAL STAFF OFFICER WITH ACCESS
TO THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE POLISH ARMED FORCES.

1. [REDACTED] COMMENT: FOLLOWING ARE SOME COMMENTS ON
POWER RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE POLISH MILITARY COUNCIL OF
NATIONAL SALVATION {WRON}, WHICH ARE BASED ON A PHOTOGRAPH OF
THIS BODY AS IT APPEARED IN THE 1 FEBRUARY 1982 ISSUE OF
"TIME MAGAZINE". ACCORDING TO THE MAGAZINE'S EDITORIAL STAFF,
THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS RECEIVED FROM A POLISH MILITARY SOURCE WITHIN
TEN DAYS OF THE PUBLICATION DATE OF THE ISSUE. THE PHOTO-
GRAPH IN QUESTION SHOWS THREE TABLES, ARRANGED ROUGHLY IN A
HORSESHOE PATTERN. THE POSITION OF THE PHOTOGRAPHER WAS IN
THE APPROXIMATE MIDDLE, LOOKING INTO THE HORSESHOE. THE
IDENTIFICATIONS GIVEN BY SOURCE IN THIS REPORT FLOW FROM LEFT
TO RIGHT, STARTING AT THE LEFTHAND TABLE. THERE ARE EIGHT
PERSONS SEATED AT THE LEFTHAND TABLE. THERE ARE SEVEN PERSONS
SEATED AT THE CENTER TABLE, WITH JARUZELSKI IN THE CENTRAL

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IN

TDFIR DB-315/03775-82

PAGE 2 OF 7 PAGES

HR70-14

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POSITION. THERE ARE FIVE PERSONS SEATED AT THE RIGHTHAND TABLE. THE LAST FIGURE AT THIS TABLE IS ONLY PARTIALLY VISIBLE, HIS FACE AND BODY CROPPED FROM THE PHOTOGRAPH. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT ANY OTHER PERSONS ARE SEATED AT HIS LEFT.]

2. THE PHOTOGRAPH APPEARS TO BE FORMAL AND POSED, WITH THE WRON MEMBERS IN THEIR OFFICIAL PLACES. THE POLES FOLLOW THE SOVIET PROCEDURE OF SEATING MEMBERS OF AN OFFICIAL BODY ACCORDING TO THEIR AUTHORITY WITHIN THE BODY. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS NO BODY OTHER THAN THE WRON WHICH WOULD BRING THESE PARTICULAR MILITARY OFFICIALS TOGETHER AS A SINGLE GROUP. THUS, THE PHOTOGRAPH IS A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION.

3. THE OFFICIALS SHOWN IN THE PHOTOGRAPH FROM LEFT TO RIGHT ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. LIEUTENANT COLONEL MIROSLAW HERMASZEWSKI {POLISH COSMONAUT};

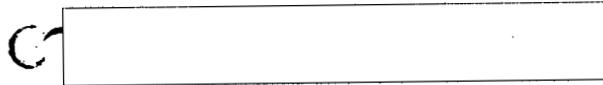
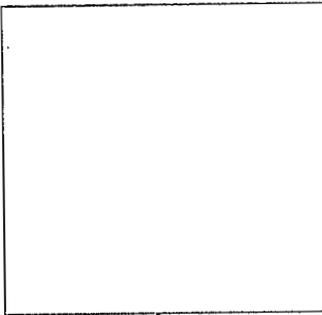
B. COLONEL TADEUSZ MAKAREWICZ {COMMANDER OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE {MON} SUPPORT UNITS};

C. UNKNOWN OFFICIAL {SOURCE DID NOT RECOGNIZE THIS OFFICER};

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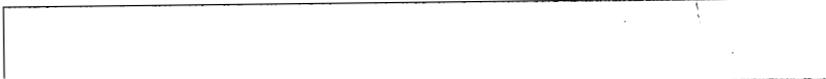
IN

TDFIRDB-315/03775-82

PAGE 3 OF 9 PAGES

HR70-14

~~SECRET~~
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D. GENERAL JERZY JAROSZ {COMMANDER OF THE 1ST MECHANIZED DIVISION}; { [REDACTED] COMMENT: SOURCE WAS NOT ABSOLUTELY POSITIVE OF THIS IDENTIFICATION, BUT HE WAS REASONABLY CERTAIN HE WAS CORRECT};

E. GENERAL CZESLAW KISZCZAK {MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS};

F. GENERAL LONGIN LOZOWICKI {COMMANDER IN CHIEF {CINC} OF AIR DEFENSE FORCES};

G. GENERAL TADEUSZ KREPSKI {CINC OF AIR FORCES};

H. GENERAL ZYGMUNT ZIELINSKI {CHIEF, MAIN CADRES DIRECTORATE, MON};

I. GENERAL JOZEF BARYLA {CHIEF, MAIN POLITICAL DIRECTORATE, MON; VICE MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE};

J. GENERAL EUGENIUSZ MOLCZYK {VICE MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE; CHIEF, MAIN INSPECTORATE OF TRAINING};

K. GENERAL FLORIAN SIWICKI {DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE; VICE MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE; CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF};

L. GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI {FIRST SECRETARY OF THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY; PREMIER, CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION; MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE};

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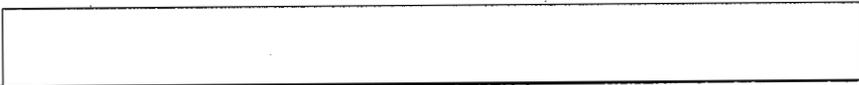


IN

TDFIR DB-315/03775-82

PAGE 4 OF 9 PAGES

~~SECRET~~
(classification)



HR70-14

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M. GENERAL JOZEF URBANOWICZ {DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE FOR GENERAL MATTERS};

N. GENERAL TADEUSZ HUPALOWSKI {MINISTER OF ADMINISTRATION, LOCAL ECONOMY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION};

O. GENERAL CZESLAW PIOTROWSKI {MINISTER OF MINING AND ENERGY};

P. ADMIRAL LUDWIK JANCZYSZYN {CINC OF NAVAL FORCES};

Q. GENERAL WLODZIMIERZ OLIWA {COMMANDER OF THE WARSAW MILITARY DISTRICT};

R. GENERAL HENRYK RAPACEWICZ {COMMANDER OF THE SILESIAN MILITARY DISTRICT};

S. GENERAL JOZEF UZYCKI {COMMANDER OF THE POMERANIAN MILITARY DISTRICT};

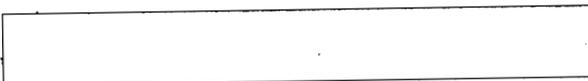
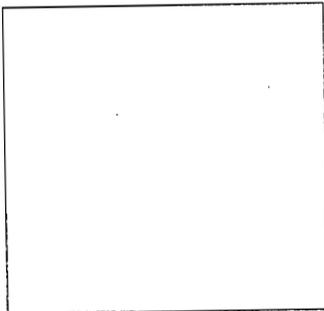
T. AN UNKNOWN OFFICIAL {  COMMENT: AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE FACE OF THIS PERSON IS NOT VISIBLE IN THE PHOTOGRAPH--ONLY THE HANDS AND ARMS ARE VISIBLE};

U. SEATED BEHIND THE LEFT ROW OF OFFICIALS IS COLONEL {FNU} GOLAB, THE SECRETARY OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION.

4. THERE ARE TWO PERSONS IN THE PHOTOGRAPH WHO ARE NOT IRON MEMBERS AS IT WAS FIRST REPORTED IN THE POLISH PRESS:

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IN

TDFIR DB-315/03775-82

PAGE 5 OF 9 PAGES

HR70-14

~~SECRET~~
(classification)



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GENERAL ZIELINSKI AND GENERAL URBANOWICZ. ZIELINSKI HAD BEEN SLATED FOR AN APPOINTMENT AS PARTY SECRETARY FOR CADRES PRIOR TO THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS IN JULY 1981. FOR SOME REASON, THE APPOINTMENT WAS NOT MADE, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT ZIELINSKI HAD LOST FAVOR WITH THE PARTY OR MILITARY LEADERSHIP. ZIELINSKI IS A "CYNICAL COMMUNIST," THAT IS, HE REGARDS ACTIVISM IN THE PARTY AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR ADVANCEMENT AND HAS ACTED ACCORDINGLY. (SOURCE COMMENT: IT CAN BE SPECULATED THAT ZIELINSKI MAY HAVE RECENTLY RECEIVED THE PARTY APPOINTMENT OR IS AT LEAST FULFILLING THOSE FUNCTIONS NOW.)

5. URBANOWICZ NOW HOLDS A POSITION IN THE MON WHICH WAS CREATED SPECIFICALLY FOR HIM AND WHICH IS LARGELY CEREMONIAL. THIS POSITION IS LIKELY TO BE ABOLISHED WHEN URBANOWICZ RETIRES, AND HE IS AT RETIREMENT AGE NOW. URBANOWICZ IS HIGHLY REGARDED BY THE SOVIETS AS AN IMPORTANT HISTORICAL PERSONAGE. HE WAS ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. HE WAS ALSO A KEY FIGURE IN THE SOVIET ANNEXATION OF LITHUANIA. DURING WW II HE SERVED AS POLITICAL OFFICER IN THE POLISH 1ST ARMY ON THE

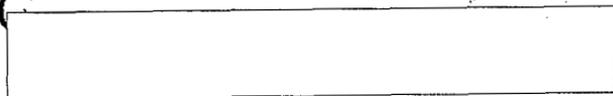
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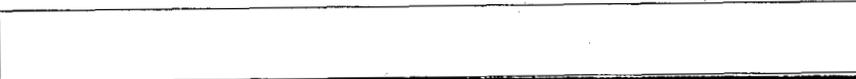


IN

TDFIR DB-315/03775-82

PAGE 6 OF 9 PAGES

~~SECRET~~
(classification)



HR70-14

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RUSSIAN FRONT. SINCE THE WAR, IN ADDITION TO HIS CURRENT POST,
HE HAS BEEN CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORATE OF A MILITARY
DISTRICT AND CHIEF OF THE MAIN POLITICAL DIRECTORATE OF THE POLISH
ARMED FORCES. {SOURCE COMMENT: FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS,
IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED
THE APPOINTMENT OF URBANOWICZ TO THE WRON.}

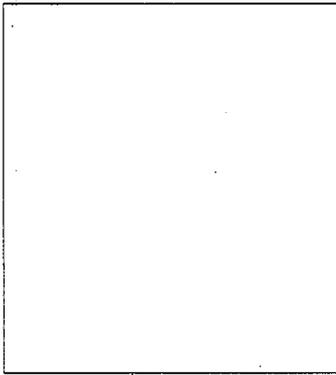
6. THE PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS ONLY 20 WRON MEMBERS {INCLUDING
THE TWO UNKNOWN}, WHEREAS THE ORIGINAL POLISH PRESS RELEASE
ANNOUNCING THE FORMATION OF THE COUNCIL GAVE 21 NAMES. THE
FIVE MISSING PERSONS ARE: GENERAL TADEUSZ TUCZAPSKI {VICE
MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, CHIEF MAIN INSPECTORATE OF
TERRITORIAL DEFENSE}; GENERAL MICHAL JANISZEWSKI {CHIEF,
OFFICE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS}; COLONEL KAZIMIERZ GARBACIK
{POSITION UNKNOWN}; LIEUTENANT COLONEL JERZY WLOSINSKI {POSITION
UNKNOWN}; COLONEL ROMAN LES {POSITION UNKNOWN} 

COMMENT: OTHER INFORMATION INDICATES THAT GARBACIK WAS AN ASSIS-
TANT MILITARY ATTACHE IN CANADA, AND THAT LES IS CHAIRMAN OF
THE FOUNDING COMMITTEE OF THE UNION OF FORMER REGULAR SOLDIERS.}

{SOURCE COMMENT: THE UNKNOWN OFFICIAL IN THE RIGHT ROW COULD
BE ANY OF THE MISSING FIVE, BUT IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT IT
TUCZAPSKI, SINCE THE LATTER AS A VICE MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

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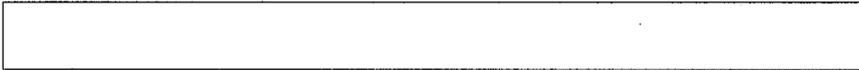
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IN

TDFIR DB-315/03775-82

PAGE 7 OF 9 PAGES



HR70-14

~~SECRET~~
(classification)

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WOULD ORDINARILY BE SEATED AT THE CENTER TABLE WITH THE OTHER VICE MINISTERS. FURTHERMORE, IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE UNKNOWN OFFICIAL IN THE LEFT ROW IS NEITHER TUCZAPSKI NOR JANISZEWSKI. THUS, OF THE FIVE "MISSING" WRON MEMBERS, AT LEAST THREE MAY HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THE COUNCIL ALTOGETHER.]

7. IN SPECULATING ON THE POSSIBILITY OF TUCZAPSKI'S REMOVAL FROM THE MILITARY COUNCIL, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT TUCZAPSKI HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUTSPOKENLY ANTI-RUSSIAN. HE WAS VISIBLY OUTRAGED WHEN HE RECEIVED THE NEWS THAT SOVIET LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV WAS TO BE NAMED SUPREME CINC OF THE COMBINED ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE WARTIME COMMAND STATUTE. MOREOVER, TUCZAPSKI HAD CLASHED REPEATEDLY OVER THE YEARS WITH MOLCZYK, A SOVIET FAVORITE IN THE POLISH HIERARCHY. HE HAS ALSO CLASHED WITH JARUZELSKI, TAKING THE POSITION THAT THE LATTER WAS NOT TOUGH ENOUGH IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS. HE BELIEVED THAT JARUZELSKI SHOULD HAVE INSISTED MORE STRONGLY ON PROTECTIONS FOR POLISH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WARTIME COMMAND STATUTE, WHICH WAS APPROVED BY THE WARSAW PACT COMMITTEE OF DEFENSE MINISTERS IN DECEMBER 1979. FURTHERMORE, HE WAS THE MOST OUTSPOKEN PROPONENT OF INTRODUCING MARTIAL LAW THROUGH A SEJM RESOLUTION, NOT A DECREE

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IN

TDFIRDB-315/03775-82

PAGE 8 OF 9 PAGES

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HR70-14

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[Redacted] COMMENT: SOURCE COULD OFFER NO CLEAR REASONS FOR THE POSSIBLE REMOVAL OF THE OTHER FOUR OFFICIALS. SOURCE WAS NOT FAMILIAR WITH GARBACIK, WLOSINSKI OR LES. HE NOTED THAT JANISZEWSKI HAD ALWAYS BEEN A SUPPORTER OF JARUZELSKI'S, AND APPARENTLY HAD REMAINED IN THE LATTER'S GOOD GRACES. THUS, HIS REPLACEMENT WOULD BE A MYSTERY.]

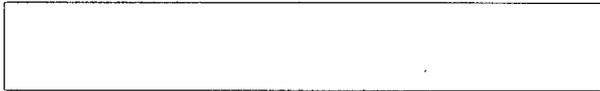
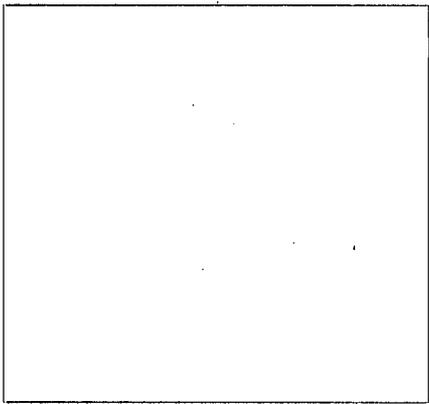
B. THE SEATING ARRANGEMENT OF JARUZELSKI, SIWICKI AND URBANOWICZ IS NOT THE TRADITIONAL ARRANGEMENT WHEN THE THREE HAVE BEEN TOGETHER IN THE PAST. BECAUSE OF HIS POSITION AS DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, URBANOWICZ HAS ALWAYS SAT AT THE RIGHTHAND OF JARUZELSKI, WITH SIWICKI AT JARUZELSKI'S LEFT. IN THIS PHOTOGRAPH THE POSITIONS OF SIWICKI AND URBANOWICZ ARE REVERSED. THIS MAY BE INTERPRETED AS EVIDENCE THAT SIWICKI, A CLOSE CONFIDANT OF JARUZELSKI, HAS ASSUMED THE STATUS OF ACTING MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, WHICH WOULD PLACE HIM SUPERIOR TO URBANOWICZ IN SEATING ARRANGEMENTS.

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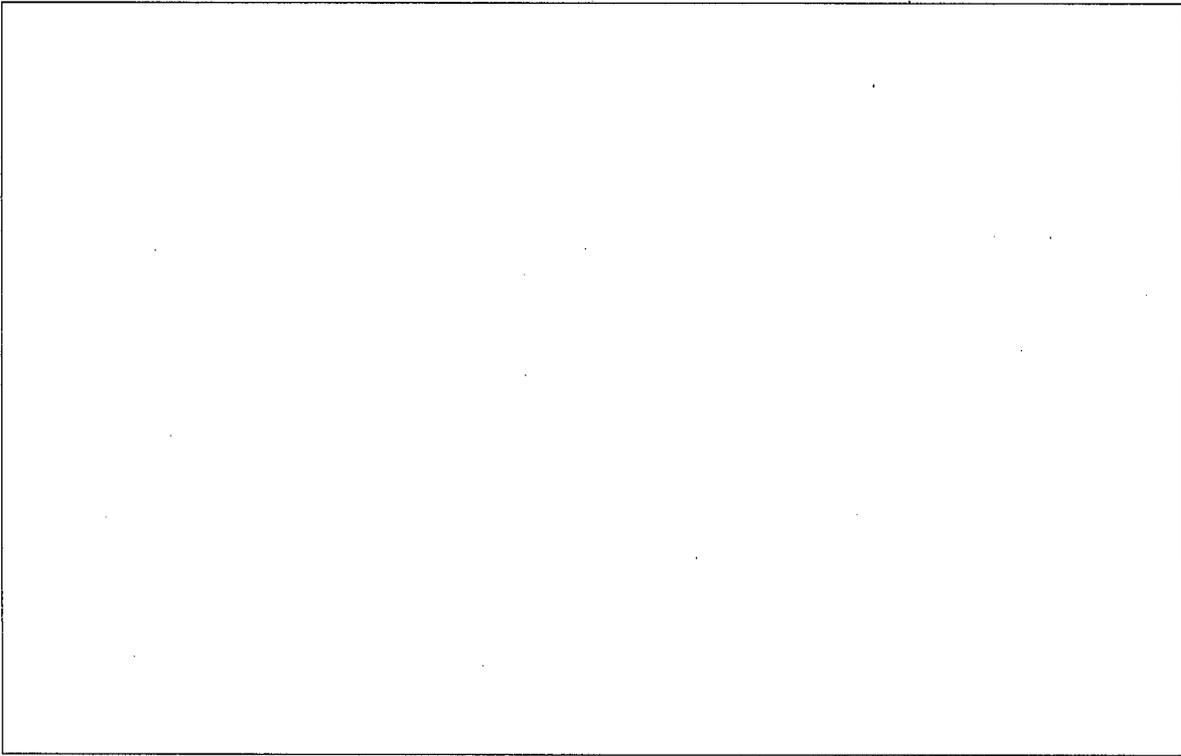


IN

TDFIR DB-315/03775-82

PAGE 9 OF 9 PAGES

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